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FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

OFFICIAL WEEKLY ORGAN OF
THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 13, 1919

Drawn by Nina E. Allender

For Simultaneous Action

SUFFRAGIST: "If I get the first one-the rest will be easy."

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Unemployed In France

THE unemployed woman in France is a subject of much concern. War industries have been shut down, munitions workers and others are adrift without the means of a livelihood. Many are unskilled workers, and most of them are accustomed to higher wages than the traditional unskilled occupations of women can pay. A housemaid's wages and long hours of work are unsatisfactory to a munitions worker. Perhaps she is a girl who has been provided for by father, or brother, or husband before the war. Her relatives have been killed at the front, she is alone and unprepared to earn a living.

The French government is on this account having its attention brought to vocational training for girls. Facilities for trade and professional education for women are being considered. The importance of preparing girls and women for places in the economic system has become a matter of national concern.

Technical schools are being opened to prepare women for posts in industry and commerce. Trade schools, and professional courses are also being arranged in Paris and other French cities. Such projects will go far to prepare the women of the next generation. They can only alleviate the hard conditions of the unemployed, and unskilled women of today.

Land Leasing Bill and Women

SENATOR La Follette has talked for an average of four hours a day for four days in a still unfinished speech. The object of his exertions is the coal, oil, and phosphate land leasing bill. An amendment to the bill offered by Mr. La Follette and carried by the Senate rules that boys under sixteen, and women and girls, shall not be employed below the surface of mines opened by the proposed bill.

Dutch Women Hold Municipal Office

FIVE women are members of the Amsterdam Municipal Council. Their party affiliations are varied. Two are Social Democrats, one is a Roman Catholic, another is a Communist, and another a Free Democrat.

Woman's Land Army

THE Women's Land Army of England has made itself indispensable to English agriculture. The demand for women laborers is greater than the supply. Within a few months it is expected that the Women's Land Army will be disorganized. This has aroused grave fears and anxieties in the Board of Agriculture, and with farmers generally.

Women and Russian Elections

IN Russia the commission charged with the preparation for the Constituent Assembly has published a project by which the Assembly will consist of delegates elected on the basis of universal, equal and secret suffrage, with women participating. Each delegate will represent an average of 250,000 population.

New Jersey Women Urge Ratification

IT is estimated that 200,000 women in New Jersey have banded together through their various organizations to push for the ratification of the suffrage amendment.

Women and Labor Conference

THE International Labor Conference of the allied associated governments will meet in Washington on October twenty-ninth, the date set by President Wilson. No direct representation for women in this conference is provided for in the labor charter of the League of Nations.

Organized women workers have planned to hold a world conference just preceding the other conference. This is being arranged by the Woman's Trade Union League. It has been reported that an effort is being made through the state department to prevent the meeting of this woman's conference.

Women Representatives at Federal Employees Convention

AT the annual convention of the Federation of Federal Employees which will meet in San Francisco on September 8 there will be among the women delegates five women who help to make paper money and stamps, one who makes flags for the Navy, one worker in the War Risk Insurance Bureau, one who is Probate Attorney for the five civilized Indian tribes, one stenographer, and one executive. In spite of the fact that the Federation has always stood for equal pay for equal work for men and woman many government departments pay skilled women less than the most unskilled men workers. The only local which is made up entirely of women is the one of the employees of the Bureau of Printing and Engraving. This branch of the government is widely known for the fact that it underpays its employees more generally than any other government department.

There is a fundamental difference between the Federal employees Union and other union organizations, namely that anyone joining this union pledges himself not to strike to obtain his demands from his employer, the government.

Women in Politics in Two Southern States

REPORTS from Georgia state that in the recent democratic primary elections the women voted in far larger percent than the men. Furthermore the entire city democratic executive committee was defeated. It is claimed that they were defeated by the votes of the women.

The registration of women in Knoxville, Tennessee, offers another instance of the interest women are taking in elections. 7,000 white women and 500 colored women registered. An effort was made by anti-suffrage newspapers in the South to twist these figures to make it appear that the registration of colored women had been larger than that of white women.

A Correction

WE received the following letter from the British Labour Party concerning the Emancipation Bill, which we print in full. We are indeed glad to hear that the Emancipation Bill is not defeated. The letter is dated August 15:

"I note that in your issue of July 26 under the heading 'Notes of the Week' you report that the Women's Emancipation Bill was defeated by a vote of 100 to 85 in the British House of Commons. This Bill which was introduced by the Labour Party was not defeated but carried in spite of the fact that Major Waldorf Astor for the Government moved its rejection on the third reading. Having passed the House of Commons, however, it was defeated on the second reading in the House of Lords. The Bill introduced by the Government in the House of Lords to deal with sex disqualifications is quite incomplete and has not the support of any of the woman's organizations. That Bill has not yet been before the House of Commons. I shall be glad if you will make this correction as the victory against the Government was a very striking proof of the strength of the woman's claim in the country.

"I am,

Yours faithfully,

Marion Phillips,

"Chief Woman Officer."

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by legislatures of three-fourths of the several states:

"ARTICLE.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted
By Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced
January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee
In the Senate
1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.
1919, Unanimously favorably.

In the House
1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.
1918, Favorable majority.
1919, Favorable majority.

Voted Upon
In the Senate
January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).
March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
October 1, 1918, yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the two-thirds vote.
February 10, 1919, yeas 55, nays 29, failing by one of the necessary two-thirds vote.
June 4, 1919, yeas 56, nays 25, passing by 2 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

In the House
January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.
January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by one vote over necessary two-thirds majority.
May 21, 1919. Yeas 304, nays 89, passing by 42 votes over necessary two-thirds majority.

RATIFICATION BY STATES

1 Wisconsin, June 10, 1919
House Vote 54 to 2
Senate Vote 24 to 1

2 Michigan, June 10, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

3 Kansas, June 16, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

4 Ohio, June 16, 1919
House Vote 73 to 6
Senate Vote 27 to 3

5 New York, June 6, 1919
Both Houses Unanimous

6 Illinois, June 17, 1919
House vote 133 to 4
Senate Vote unanimous

7 Pennsylvania, June 24, 1919
House Vote 153 to 44
Senate Vote 32 to 6

8 Massachusetts, June 25, 1919
House Vote 185 to 47
Senate Vote 34 to 5

9 Texas, June 28, 1919
House Vote 96 to 21
Senate Vote Unanimous

10 Iowa, July 2, 1919
House Vote 95 to 5
Senate Vote Unanimous

11 Missouri, July 3, 1919
House Vote 125 to 4
Senate Vote 28 to 3

12 Arkansas, July 29, 1919
House Vote 76 to 17
Senate Vote 29 to 2

13 Montana, July 30, 1919
House Vote Unanimous
Senate Vote 38 to 1

14 Nebraska, August 2, 1919
Unanimous

15 Minnesota, Aug. 8, 1919
House vote 120 to 6
Senate vote 60 to 5

The Suffragist

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A Record for Ratification

THE Federal Suffrage Amendment holds quite a unique position in that it is one of very few proposed constitutional amendments to survive a long period of inactivity and finally, by persistent effort and determination, be brought to victory in Congress. In his review of proposed constitutional amendments up until the year 1890, Ames says that of 1,700 proposals to amend, over half died in committee and only a small percentage of the others ever came to a vote. Aside from the first ten amendments which form the Bill of Rights and were adopted simultaneously with the Constitution itself, only five had at that time been adopted, and only four others were ever proposed to the states by Congress for ratification. Since that time three other amendments have been adopted, and we do not know how many others proposed, but at any rate the Susan B. Anthony Amendment has certainly triumphed to a great extent over a vast amount of rejected material.

THERE is now a splendid opportunity for the Suffrage Amendment to make another record—a time record for ratification. Disregarding the first twelve amendments, which were practically simultaneous with the adoption of the constitution—we may give the following data concerning the length of time required for ratification: two amendments—the 15th and the 17th—were ratified and made a part of the constitution within one year from the time of submission, and one other, the prohibition amendment recently passed, was ratified in one year and one month. The other two Civil War Amendments, the 13th and 14th, were ratified in two years. Only one, the 16th, relating to income tax, required as much as 3½ years to become a part of the constitution.

LET the Suffrage Amendment set a new record for ratification. That record is going to be within a year—must be within a year if women are to vote in the Presidential elections of 1920. Let the states see in how short a time within that year the record can be set. We are now beginning the fourth month since the amendment was submitted, and fourteen states have ratified, with the immediate prospect of three more. That is almost half the way. The other half should come very easily and very speedily. It could come at once.

Schedule of Legislative Sessions

States in Session Now

Alabama—(Where Senate voted 19 to 13 against ratification in July, and 18 to 13 against on September 2.)

Minnesota—(Special session called for September 8, for suffrage and other matters.)

New Hampshire—(Special session called for September 9, for suffrage.)

To Be In Session Later This Month

Utah—(Special session called for September 29 for suffrage.)

States Which Meet in Regular Session in 1920

* Ratified.

† Special Session.

Georgia	June
Kentucky	January
Louisiana	January
*Massachusetts	January
Mississippi	January
New Jersey	January
†*New York	January
Rhode Island	January
South Carolina	January
Virginia	January

States Which Do Not Meet in Regular Session Until 1921

Arizona	January
†*Arkansas	January
California	January
Colorado	January
Connecticut	January
Delaware	January
Delaware	January
Florida	April
Idaho	January
*Illinois	January
Indiana	January
†*Iowa	January
†*Kansas	January
Maine	January
*Michigan	January
†Minnesota	January
†*Missouri	January
†*Montana	January
†*Nebraska	January
Nevada	January
†New Hampshire	January
New Mexico	January
North Carolina	January
North Dakota	January
*Ohio	January
Oklahoma	January
Oregon	January
*Pennsylvania	January
South Dakota	January
Tennessee	January
*Texas	January
†Utah	January
Vermont	January
Washington	January
West Virginia	January
*Wisconsin	January
Wyoming	January

Further Democratic Mistakes

Alabama and Virginia Fail to Ratify

THE Alabama legislature has again placed itself on record as rejecting the Federal Suffrage Amendment. In spite of renewed expostulation from the National Democratic Committee, in spite of new and favorable resolutions from the Alabama State Democratic Committee, the Democrats of the Alabama legislature have again registered their disapproval and refused the opportunity which reconsideration of their July vote gave for a reversal of attitude.

On September 2 the Senate voted once more on a resolution to ratify, and the resolution was lost by a vote of 18 to 13. At that time there were nine more legislative days left on the calendar, but with any further action on the suffrage question quite unlikely. The issue is probably settled for this session. If Alabama should meet again in special session this Fall, as seems likely, from the demands of other legislation which has not been finished, the legislature will still be confronted by this issue of federal suffrage ratification, for it is an issue which can never be closed until it is acted upon favorably.

As was forecast by a publication appearing in THE SUFFRAGIST of August 23, when a letter signed jointly by the entire Republican delegation to the Alabama legislature—small as it is—and pledging themselves to vote for the amendment if it should come up again, was printed, the Republican element acted favorably and as a unit on this last occasion. Democratic responsibility is definitely fixed.

AFTER what Virginia newspapers characterize as one of the fiercest battles in the history of the Virginia legislature, that body also "shelved" suffrage ratification for this session. The campaign has seemed quite hopeful in Virginia lately, as there has been so much activity in favor of ratification from national sources; the President's appeal seemed to have made a profound impression, and both Democratic and Republican national leaders have been apparently very earnest in their efforts to save Virginia from rejecting this opportunity for ratification. But the opposition won out. On September 3, in the afternoon, the matter came to a final issue, so far as this session is concerned.

The Susan B. Anthony Amendment, submitted to the legislature by the Governor, was introduced in the Senate with a resolution to ratify by Senator G. Walter Mapp, and in the House by Floor-leader R. H. Willis. The Federal Relations Committee to which the House resolution was referred, did not report it out, but passed a resolution urging deferred action until 1920. Senator Leedy, of the opposition forces, introduced a resolution barring all action on suffrage and branding the Federal Amendment as an undemocratic and unwarranted interference with state sovereignty, etc.

Without warning, and in a manner wholly unprecedented in the annals of the Virginia legislature, state papers say, this resolution was passed in the House within 25 minutes, and with all pro-suffrage debate barred. This meant final defeat in the House.

Meanwhile the Senate, desirous of saving their body from the disgrace of even considering the Leedy resolution, was fighting hotly to prevent this scurrilous resolution coming to a vote. There the suffragists, angered at the railroading tactics of the opposition, scored a victory by a motion to postpone action on the Leedy resolution, which, they said, would have committed Virginia to a disgraceful and wholly false stand against the Federal Amendment and against the President's interest therein. The vote in this instance was 19 to 15.

So the Virginia legislative session came to an end without action on the ratification resolution, but with pro-ratification Senators feeling that they had triumphed in saving the Senate from committing itself against the suffrage issue.

Ratification Sentiment Over the Country

WHILE some Governors are saying "the people of my state aren't at all interested in ratification," seemingly unable to understand why persons in a suffrage state should be expected to care in the least about the federal amendment and suffrage for all women, the Woman's Party, which has its finger on the pulse of popular interest in every state, through its organizers and its local branches and its national legislative department, is all the time learning otherwise.

Popular sentiment is registered largely by the pressure brought to bear upon the state executives in favor of special sessions. Legislative sentiment is registered by the signed statements of individuals. And it is upon both that women must depend for an accurate estimate of public opinion. Great numbers of expressions have come in to the legislative office of the Woman's Party at Washington from state legislators all over the country. Extracts from many of these are decidedly interesting, and those which are quoted below are largely typical of others not quoted.

AN Arizona man so puts himself on record: "I am willing and anxious to make any personal sacrifice to the end that a special session of the Arizona legislature may be held for the purpose of ratifying the amendment extending the right of suffrage to women—believing as I do unqualifiedly in its tenets."—C. P. Hicks.

From California we have, among many others, the following:

"I have already enlisted in this meritorious cause. I hope that you will succeed in your efforts, and assure you that I am in sympathy and that if an opportunity is offered my vote will be for the cause you so ably advocate."—James C. Nealon.

"It has always seemed to me insulting that any man should say whether or not a woman should vote; just as well say that she should not breathe God's free air. It has come down to us from heathendom, and I shall be glad to help shove him off his self-assumed perch."—N. Pettit.

"I hope the women and the forward-looking, broad-visioned men who get to know me will realize that they can always count on me to do my bit in any movement which leads toward greater social health and progress and industrial liberty."—Grant R. Bennett.

A few of the Connecticut replies follow:

"I, being satisfied that justice demands the same privilege for women that men enjoy, will gladly vote in favor of ratifying the amendment."—A. W. Hammond.

"The women of my state know I am with them, and I don't care if the world knows it."—G. M. Tracy.

"Kindly use your influence to have our Governor call a special session for this purpose."—Emil T. Berger.

"Glad to give you my hearty support."—Nathan O. Ward.

From Delaware:

"I will vote for ratification, and I will say I am for a special session. Delaware ought to do her part in this."—Wm. Lyons, Jr.

"Your fight is won—I might as well get on the band-wagon. I will vote for the ratification."—Wm. C. Brooks.

"I have always been in favor of woman suffrage. I have never heard one argument which I consider against it, and I will vote to ratify the suffrage amendment."—Lewis M. Price.

FROM Indiana, whose Governor set a date for suffrage ratification by special session, and then changed his mind, there has been a sheaf of favorable letters from legislators. A very few expressions follow:

"I not only stand ready but anxiously await the opportunity to do my part."—Frank J. Noll, Jr.

"I am very much in favor of the Governor calling a special session to ratify the amendment. As far as expenses in the way of salary is concerned, in the event of a special session for this purpose, I do not want any pay. I feel that I am simply doing a duty which we owe to the women of this country. I shall write and urge the Governor to call the session."—Edward P. Elsner.

"I am with you heart and soul."—Wm. R. Jinnett.

"I shall use every effort at my command to prevail upon the Governor of Indiana to call an extra session to ratify the suffrage amendment."—Charles B. Bidaman.

"I wish to assure your organization, as well as the women of the country that I will do all in my power to hasten this righteous movement."—James M. Knapp.

Idaho legislators say:

"It would be a matter of great satisfaction to pay my own expenses."—Carrie Harper White.

"I would be willing to give my time free to the State of Idaho if an extra session were called."—W. A. Heiss.

"I am for the enfranchisement of the women of our country first, last and all time."—Frank E. Wright.

Charles E. Gurney of Maine says: "I deem it really unnecessary at this time to assure you of my hearty sympathy with the movement that you represent."

W. B. Harrington of Nevada says: "I am heartily in favor of the amendment."

Minnesota legislators say:

"Our special session is called for September 8. It will take about thirty minutes to ratify the amendment."—W. A. Nolan.

"I am with you and always was, and don't care who knows it."—Thomas E. West.

From New Hampshire we have:

"Will do all in my power for you."—L. H. Douphinet.

And

"Good Luck!"—Ora W. Craig.

And

"You may depend on me."—F. P. Green.

One New Jersey man says:

"I consider that an injustice is done to the women of New Jersey in that in other states women may vote, but by moving into New Jersey they lose their suffrage rights. I am in favor of immediate ratification of the federal amendment."—Arthur Whitney.

New Mexico legislators are strongly favorable. Some of them say:

"This is to assure you and all interested that I shall continue to vote for woman suffrage at every opportunity."—I. S. Epstein.

"If I can be of any service, please command me."—Coe Howard.

"I wish you success."—Venceslao Romero.

"I assure you that not only I but the majority of the citizenship of our new 'Sunshine State' are for this amendment and appreciate the energy and ability that you are putting in this noble cause, and I promise you my every assistance."—C. E. Hunter.

OKLAHOMA, whose Governor says he will never call a special session, sends expressions like these:

"I shall be pleased to do whatever I can in the way of securing a special session for this purpose. I believe in woman suffrage and shall be anxious to help in this work."—Tom Waldrep.

"Anything I can do to assist you will be gladly done."—J. Elmer Thomas.

"If a special session should be called you may count on my vote for the amendment."—T. E. Beck.

North Dakota:

"You may depend on me to do all in my power for the enfranchisement of the women of our state and nation."—N. E. Whipple.

S. M. Bradley of Kentucky says:

"Will be glad to vote to ratify the amendment if called upon this year. I have always talked and voted for woman suffrage."

Rhode Island:

"I am willing to serve without pay or mileage, and will do all I can for the cause."—M. P. McLaughlin.

"I assure you of my hearty co-operation."—Mancel W. Talbott.

J. W. Walker of Vermont says:

Continued on page 10

The Woman's Party and the Press

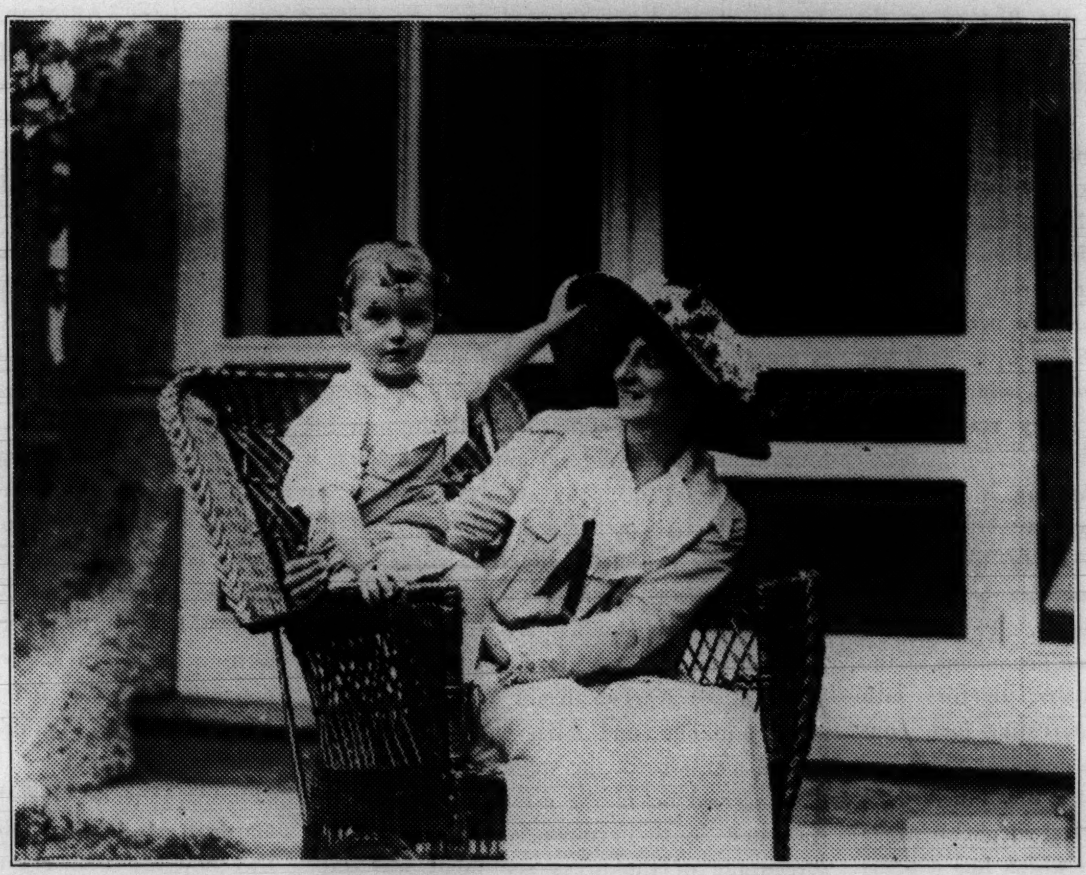
IT would be difficult to single out any one factor which has had more to do than any other with the success of the Woman's Party campaign for the Federal Suffrage Amendment. They have all been contributory causes, no one of which would have been particularly effective alone, perhaps. And yet there is one phase of the work which has been absolutely invaluable, and without which the whole campaign would probably have been much more difficult and much slower of completion. That is the activity of the press department.

When the organization was first established as the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, all the workers turned their hands to many things. Mrs. Jessie Hardy MacKaye, in between organizing meetings, speaking and lobbying, established a press department, which she ran with the greatest success for the first two years.

As the work grew and the Congressional Union spread to every corner of the United States, and each separate phase of its activity became so important as to require all one person's attention, Mrs. MacKaye turned over the press work to Florence Brewer Boeckel, then Florence Brewer, who came to Headquarters as a volunteer and gave her services to the development of the department. After Florence Brewer's marriage in 1916, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker took over the work and secured as her assistant trained newspaper men. Later Miss Beulah Amidon, now Mrs. Paul Ratcliff, came into the department and contributed greatly to its success. Miss Vivian Pierce also at various times did very valuable work in the press department, and continues her success in press work as an organizer.

At the height of the picketing demonstrations in 1917, Mrs. Boeckel came back to take charge of the press work and free Mrs. Baker for the political department. Miss Alice Gram was added to the staff, and Miss Amidon continued her work. From that time until now the department has been managed by Mrs. Boeckel, who, for part of the time has done volunteer work, and devoted much thought and energy to the success of her undertaking. She has been assisted at different times by Mrs. Eleanor Taylor Marsh, Miss Anita Pollitzer and Miss Margaret Whittemore.

There are more than two hundred correspondents representing several hundred newspapers in Washington. These are supplied with frequent bulletins about the status of the amendment and the activities of the Woman's Party, or about the trend of the suffrage movement in general, by the press department. The wire services, reaching all large papers of the country, receive news stories several times a week; while the syndicate services, many of which have bureaus in Washington and which supply material to all the small papers of the country, are given special feature articles at regular intervals. Stories are sent almost daily to the press galleries of the Senate and House, where the newspaper correspondents gather for congressional news, and bulletins are sent each night to the Press Club, the headquarters of the many newspaper men in the city.



Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, National Press Chairman, with her Son Richard

Besides the news syndicates, the photographic services such as Harris & Ewing, which send news out in the form of pictures, are constantly given material.

As an instance of this latter there is the recent photograph of Miss Edith Ainge sewing stars upon the suffrage flag, and entitled "The Betsy Ross of the Suffrage Movement," which was sent out by Mrs. Boeckel through the Harris and Ewing Service and was copied in countless newspapers all over the country. Since that photograph originally went out, there has not been a bundle of clippings come into this office from the clipping bureau which has not yielded a sheaf of copies of this attractive reproduction, from every conceivable nook and cranny of the United States—great metropolitan papers of East and West, little dailies and weeklies from unheard-of small towns and cross-roads at the farthest extremes of the country—all of them making people think about suffrage ratification.

This tremendous task of keeping the issue of suffrage before the public consciousness has been furthered in other ways also. Mrs. Boeckel has herself interviewed many men of national prominence or political importance and obtained statements from them upon the suffrage situation as it obtained at the moment, upon the political status of the issue or the party stands relative to it, or upon the individual man's personal reaction to the suffrage problem. These she has used as the basis of press bulletins which have gone out all over the country and which have in turn stimulated much editoroal comment. As, for instance, the recently obtained statement from Senator Curtis, Republican whip in the Senate, who said that the Republican Party not only put the amendment through Congress but is responsible for the largest part of the ratification so far—which gave rise to the editorials recently quoted in THE SUFFRAGIST from the Richmond, Va., Journal, urging the Democrats to bestir themselves and save their good name with the women voters of the nation.

Various occupational and college publications of the country are supplied by the press department with general news, and with material for editorials and stories fitted to their needs and interests. Farm papers secure material or news having special bearing on farm problems in relation to suffrage, or having an especial appeal to farm women. The labor journals constitute another special field. Not long ago an article written by William P. Harvey, late of the War Labor Board and former editor of the American Railway Em-

ployee's Journal, for the department was sent out to the many labor papers across the land. This, of interest as a case in point, was the article printed in THE SUFFRAGIST of July 5, on "Analogies Between Methods Employed by Woman's Party and Organized Labor."

The magazines, which, while suffrage was strictly propaganda material, were less ready to take stories, are now being approached in New York by Miss Margaret Whittemore, who is devoting all her time to this phase of the press work and having unusual success. She has been assisted by Mrs. Abby Scott Baker.

SELDOM is an opportunity for making the public think about the importance of suffrage missed or unsought. The National Department, through Mrs. Boeckel and its various other members, is ever at attention for the chance to present suffrage and suffrage activities in their true light to a large and often misinformed public. Many thousands of bulletins giving the history of the amendment, the attitude, as it progresses, of one political party or another, interesting facts about the early suffrage workers, and other special data, have gone out at one time and another, as well as the daily bulletins of current news. Mrs. Boeckel has furnished the facts and the detailed information for many and many a newspaper editorial, for which much research would have been necessary on the part of the editor; she has furnished, too, requested material for articles, addresses and debates from practically every state in the Union.

Whenever a suffrage meeting is being arranged in any state, by a state branch or a national organizer of the Party, all the advance publicity for the meeting is sent out from the national department. Photographs of the speakers or of women prominent in the work are sent to local papers, together with "biographies" or sets of interesting facts concerning the persons, and details concerning the purpose and nature of the meeting. In all this, of course, the national department is helped by the local branch which has a press chairman of its own.

Whenever an extended trip is planned, this too requires the work of the press department. On the "Suffrage Special" trip and also on the last such trip—the "Prison Special" which toured the country in February and March of this year—Mrs. Abby Scott Baker was in charge of publicity.

Mrs. Boeckel has organized a press system which extends out into the state branches, and in many instances she has had most able support from local press chairmen. In addition to the methods of spreading news above noted, the national department also sends regular quotas of information to State Chairmen and press chairmen, which they in turn use for the guidance of their branch work, and endeavor to place in local newspapers.

MRS. Annie G. Porritt, of Hartford, Connecticut, is one of the notable examples of a state press chairman who has accomplished wonders in apparently impossible soil. She has been absolutely indefatigable in her efforts, and never rested until she wedged a way into the Connecticut papers which had never been anything but hostile to suffrage. Since that time there have been few papers in her state which do not carry regular stories by her or which have not at some time used her material. The Hartford Post has an article by her as a regular special feature of the paper.

Miss Caroline Katzenstein, of Philadelphia, is another splendid state press chairman, having been exceptionally successful in all the Pennsylvania campaigns, and all through the long fight for the federal amendment when it was being waged chiefly at Washington. She has been active in her state almost from the first. Other especially effective workers have been Miss J. S. Jennings for Virginia; Miss Lucy Ewing for Illinois; Miss Anita Pollitzer, Miss Mabel Pollitzer for South Carolina, and Mrs. Lillian Ainsworth for New Hampshire. Miss Jennings and Miss Pollitzer deserve special mention for the valiant campaigns they have carried on in the difficult states of Virginia and South Carolina, where such a large percentage of the press sentiment was anti-suffrage and even more violently anti-federal amendment, and where unusual persistance was necessary to induce editors to recognize the suffrage opinions of a large and growing proportion of the state's population. Miss Ainsworth has been cited at Headquarters for notable press work done in New Hampshire, especially during the recent campaign there, directed by Mrs. Lois Warren Shaw, in behalf of the special session for ratification, which has just come to a successful conclusion.

Numbers of the State Chairmen act as press chairmen also, and often organizers carry on their own press work to a large extent, keeping in constant touch with the national department.

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins, of New Jersey, is one of the state chairmen who has done all her own press work, and been particularly successful, as have Mrs. Bertha Fowler, of Colorado, who has been assisted by Dr. Caroline Spencer, Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe, of Texas, Mrs. Agnes Morey, of Massachusetts, and many others. All of this state press work has been of immense assistance to Mrs. Boeckel and her staff in the gigantic and far-reaching task of keeping the public informed about suffrage, or arousing widespread interest in active campaigns—of awaking, in fact, and keeping awake, the nation's suffrage conscience.

But according to Mrs. Boeckel, the success of the department would never have been achieved except for two factors, the loyal support of the working staff of the department which, with true newspaper spirit, has always risen to emergencies, working early and late; and the cordial co-operation of the newspaper men of Washington, many of whom, beside giving careful attention to the stories which have been sent them from the department, have given freely of their advice and time, and more than once helped out in a rush period by writing stories themselves. Among the newspaper men and women to whom the department is particularly indebted are Miss Winifred Mallon, of the Chicago Tribune; Miss Maud McDougal, feature writer; Mr. Gilson Gardner, Mr. Richard Boeckel, Mr. Charles P. Sweeney, Mr. Paul Hanna and Mr. Felix Morley, Mr. George Odell, Mr. Isaac Russell and Mr. Howard Hadley, all magazine and news writers.

Miss Lucy Ewing
Illinois

Mrs. J. A. H. Hopkins
New Jersey

Miss Caroline Katzenstein
Pennsylvania

Mrs. Annie Porritt
Connecticut

Minnesota Ratifies

MINNESOTA is the fifteenth state to set its seal of ratification upon the Susan B. Anthony Amendment granting federal suffrage to the women of America. Its legislature was called into special session for that purpose and others, and on Monday, September 8, within an hour and a half after the legislature convened, the ratification resolution had passed the House and Senate and the deed was done. The vote in the House of Representatives was practically unanimous, being one hundred and twenty to six. In the Senate the vote was sixty to five.

Minnesota was the eighth state to be called into special legislative session to ratify the suffrage amendment. Announcement of the call was made by Governor Burnquist on August 8, last, in answer to a request for information as to his intentions, from the Minnesota Ratification Committee, in convention at St. Paul.

Sets Date For Colorado Special Session

GOVERNOR Shoup has officially announced the date for the special session of the Colorado Legislature as October 15, 1919. A telegram to this effect reached National Headquarters from Mrs. Bertha A. Fowler, Colorado Chairman of the Woman's Party, just as this issue of THE SUFFRAGIST goes to press.

NEW Hampshire is also in session, the legislature having convened in special session for suffrage ratification on September 9, the day after the victory in Minnesota. At the time THE SUFFRAGIST goes to press this week no information as to the action there has come to the editorial office. The special session was called by Governor Bartlett after a poll of ratification prospects made by him through telegrams to all the other governors.

Women in Soviet Russia

By Arvid Hanson

"IT is fitting to say a few words about the role of the women in the Russian Revolution," I said one day to Madame Kollontay. She was frightfully busy, yet graciously consented to a brief interview. It was in fact what we journalists call a lightening interview. This is what I found out from her:

"It was the working women in Russia, as in France in 1789, who started the Revolution. The Russian Revolution of March 1917 really began with the 'woman's day' proclamation for the 9th of March by the Socialist Party. The women demonstrated against the high cost of living and demanded bread. That day marked the beginning of the Revolution. When the March Revolution fully developed it was natural that the women participated with the men.

"In May of the same year, we had had a mighty strike among the women workers in the big laundries. About four thousand women participated in the strike. A union had been formed with six hundred members, but during the strike the union grew until it included almost all laundry workers in Petrograd. This was the first strike after the March Revolution. tI resulted in a partial victory only, yet, after the strike, some of the laundries were taken over by the municipality, which had been the particular demand of the workers."

WOMEN have been in the Soviets from the beginning. In the first Central Executive Committee, after the November Revolution, there was only one woman (Madam Kollontay); afterwards there were three, including the well-known Maria Spirodonava. The working women lined up with the Bolsheviki. They were in the Left Wing in the Soviets. During the period between the March and November revolutions, a special Socialist women's paper was issued in Petrograd, and continued for about a year.

In November, 1918, the first great women's conference, representing Petrograd and the northern communes, was held. There were present five hundred delegates, representing more than one hundred thousand working women. The Congress placed itself fully and uncompromisingly on the platform of the workers' Soviets.

In April, 1918, a woman's conference representing the city and province of Moscow was widely attended. The Petrograd Congress adopted important resolutions regarding maternity and unemployment insurance. At the Moscow Conference the food question, the cost of living, and child welfare were the great questions. Here also the conference resulted in important decisions.

The Communist working women are everywhere energetically taking part in the work which comes under the jurisdiction of the Commissariat of Education and in cultural activities. The local food problems awakened great interest among women. Finally, an important work is being done by women in the propaganda and sanitary work of the army. There are also women soldiers in the army. Women have been at the front from the beginning of the Revolution, and have done splendid work, especially in the field of sanitary relief.

MADAME Lelina is the Commissaire of Social Welfare in the Northern Commune (Petrograd). Madame Lunacharsky (wife of the Commissaire of Education) heads the administration of Children's Colonies. Everywhere in the villages and districts all over Russia, one may find thousands upon thousands of women in the service of the educational and social welfare institutions. Madame Kollontay is the only woman who has been a Peoples' Commissaire. Upper class women, that is, women belonging to the former upper classes, are active in great numbers in the schools and children's colonies, etc.

"There is developing now," said Madame Kollontay, enthusiastically, "a special type of young working-class girls, who are economically and otherwise independent. We have, for example, young Gratjova. She has come into the movement directly from a textile factory. Due to her inborn talent, she has developed very rapidly. Gratjova has been active for more than five months. Together with a number of other working-class women, she has for some time been a member of the revolutionary tribunals. She displayed there great humanitarian mildness."

"We women," said Madame Kollontay, "in spite of everything, have not forgotten the beautiful ideals of humanitarianism. As members of a court, we take the part of defenders rather than of prosecutors. Experience has proven that the women in these revolutionary tribunals, so long as these institutions are still necessary, are able to do a great humanitarian work."

"I am looking forward eagerly to the Women's Congress which is scheduled for November," said Madame Kollontay, at the end of her interview. "It will certainly prove a great success. There is still much slowness and apathy among the masses, in political matters at any rate. For this reason we are agitating now more than ever before."

The Book Page

Modern Love

An American Idyll—the life of Carleton H. Parker by Cornelia Stratton Parker. Published by the Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston.

Dedication.

"Written for our three children.

Dedicated to all those kindred souls, friends of Carl Parker, whether they knew him or not, who are making the fight, without bitterness, but with all the understanding, patience and enthusiasm they possess, for a saner, kindlier, and more joyous world.

And to those especially who love greatly along the way."

THIS is a story for everybody, alike for young and old, and for the ages between. After their excitements and thrills, the fairy tales of our childhood used invariably to end up "And then they were married, and were happy, happy ever after." So must still end, in less ingeneous phrasing, most of the light novels and tales written for grownups. The great tragedies find their solution in death, while the very modern stories break with the old lovely ending, defy the evasion of death, and show marriage as the struggle it generally means, or the failure it too often proves. But here is a romance from real life, beginning with a four years' wooing, and bearing the reader on through a married life of ten years, of which every moment was courtship.

When the Browning Letters were given to the world by the hand of another, I read them with a mean, guilty feeling as if I had accidentally opened some one else's desk, and had not followed my instant impulse to close it again. As one wielder of a defter pen at the time expressed it, it was:

"Forgive, great lovers, being dead, these eyes that scan your story," for there never was any assurance that Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning would have wished that their exchanges of thought and feeling should have been displayed to a more or less apathetic world. With "An American Idyll" it is different. The wife herself is the narrator, and as we learn to know the husband too, no one supposes that his consent would have been withheld.

Carleton Parker was a young Western college professor, who, at the time of his sudden death in March of last year was becoming a notable figure because of his interpretations of the human side of labor problems. His chief contribution is an insistence upon a scientific comprehension of human nature as a basis before we can expect to understand or try to settle any social problem.

BRIEFLY, Cornelia and Carleton Parker began by being college chums at Berkeley, in spite of seven years' difference of age. At twenty-five, having engineered, and mined and explored, he wasn't sure what he was going to do, except that he and Cornelia were going to be married—some day. Four years later, and still undecided in the matter of an occupation, they were married. Young, poor, but enthusiastic and full of hope and determination, the pair, after the arrival of first one, and then a second baby, lived at Harvard on next to nothing, except that the babies always had what Holt prescribed. Then for three years more in England and Germany, helped by her father. And by this time they both knew that Parker was to be a student and teacher of labor problems. At barely forty, just as the fight for the merest living was ending, just as he was coming into his own as a front-rank thinker among fellow-thinkers, he was cut off by pneumonia. So recently as 1916, the University of California, in keeping with the practice of most universities was paying this man $1,700 a year! Yet, though Mrs. Parker writes pathetically "Oh, dear, oh, dear, money does make a difference," she hastens to add "we grew more determined than ever to see that more folk in the world got more of it."

WE have read of many other couples who have gone through hard struggles, and only been more united because of them. But never before was there any story of married love expressing so much of the joy of life, and of a joyous life led together. We might hesitate to accept it, were it not that we know from outside sources that the joy was indeed there, for it overflowed upon all around. Although this is a book of memories, the intensity and vividness with which these ten years are pictured makes the most enthralling magazine story read dull and pale by comparison. She is an out-of-doors, up-to-date, extremely modern woman, and he very much the new man. They had every problem of modern life to face. A great many people have done some of the same things as these two. Very few have done all. And none have told us of their life in such inspiring fashion.—A. H.

Ratification Sentiment—Continued

"I would welcome an opportunity as a member of the Vermont legislature to vote for the ratification of the suffrage amendment to the constitution."

From among many expressions from Utah we choose the following:

"I wish to say that I appreciate the franchise that the women of Utah enjoy and will do all in my power to make it nationwide."—Lorenzo Argyle.

"It will be an honor and a privilege for me to vote in favor of ratifying the amendment extending the right of suffrage to women, when it comes before the legislature of my state."—J. Wm. Knight.

"We are in thorough sympathy with the amendment and shall be pleased to vote for its ratification. We are writing the Governor to this effect. You may confidently depend upon strong support from Utah."—L. W. Curry.

Wyoming:

"I am very heartily in favor of the ratification of the amendment. I do not see how I could be otherwise, having resided in this state since 1880 and having observed the full development of the political rights of women here."—C. L. Sacket.

South Dakota:

"I am in thorough sympathy with your movement and shall esteem it a privilege to aid in every way I can."—Charles J. Buell.

WHEN Governor Shoup, of Colorado, attended the Governor's Conference at Salt Lake City he was followed by many requests to urge concerted action upon the Governors assembled there. Mrs. Bertha W. Fowler, Colorado Chairman of the National Woman's Party, wired to him urging that he support Mrs. Abby Scott Baker's plan for a joint agreement among governors, and remove the cause for Colorado's humiliation over his long delay. She, as head of the state ratification committee, also communicated with the chairman of the Conference urging concerted action for immediate special sessions—as did others.

Mr. and Mrs. Clarence P. Dodge, prominent newspaper owners of Colorado Springs, wired the Governor:

"Urge that Governors take concerted action to secure special sessions of state legislatures to ratify suffrage amendment before end of September."

To this Governor Shoup replied by telegram:

"Thank you for message. Will use full efforts to urge early meetings of legislatures. Colorado will be called early in October."

Comments of the Press

The Special Session

IN a state which has enjoyed equal suffrage as long as Utah it was only natural to expect the calling of a special session of the legislature to ratify the Susan B. Anthony amendment. Consequently no adverse comment will be heard as a result of the calling of the session for September 29.

As far as Utah is concerned the session will have no direct effect and is to be regarded only in the light of service to the women of the nation. Utah women have been participating in presidential elections since statehood, so they will enjoy no new privileges as a result of the ratification of the amendment.

With the women of other states, however, it is different. Ratification by the required number of states will permit the women of many states to cast their first votes in a presidential election in November, 1920. There can be no doubt of the action to be taken by the Utah legislature, for our solons as well as our people have ever favored equal suffrage.

While the local need of a special session is not apparent it is a national service that the state could not fail to perform. There is nothing certain about ratification of the amendment in time for the 1920 elections, although the followers of Susan B. Anthony are sparing no efforts to make it certain. They believe that they have the support of the number of states required for ratification. The only question confronting them is to induce the governors to call special sessions of the legislatures to speed ratification. Utah is glad to do her share.—The Salt Lake (Utah) Herald, August 27, 1919.

The Solid South

WILL woman suffrage put an end to the solidity of the solid south? A part of the southern states have accepted the suffrage amendment and a part have rejected it.—McMinnville (Ore.) Register, August 15, 1919.

An Extra Session

GOVERNOR Olcott should call a special session of the legislature to ratify the suffrage amendment or he should decline to call it. It is his province and he should exercise his own judgment in the matter. He sidesteps the responsibility and he "passes the buck" to members of the legislature and at the same time attaches two strings by enacting a pledge from legislators to waive pay and mileage and not to undertake other legislation.

The one reason for ratification at this time is to add the weight of Oregon's vote to aid the adoption of the federal amendment. Of course, Oregon will ratify unanimously, but unless a special session is called the formal indorsement of the issue cannot be obtained in time to give the women of the nation a vote at the next presidential election. If the moral effect is to be felt, the legislature should be summoned as early as possible.

In any event, the matter of calling the legislature together ought to be disposed of. Governor Olcott should act or publicly announce that he is opposed to an extra session. It is The Telegram's judgment that a large majority of the people of Oregon wish to expedite the ratification of the amendment and they do not wish that their state should be at the end of the procession.—Portland (Ore.) Telegram, August 25, 1919.

Equal Suffrage As a State Right

WHATEVER action the general assembly may take at the special session in relation to the federal suffrage amendment should be based wholly on the intrinsic merits of the measure and not on personal prejudice. Efforts of disingenuous antis to defeat ratification on the plea that it traverses state rights cannot stand analysis. The states, as we have heretofore argued, are guaranteed a republican or representative form of government by the federal Constitution, which exclusion of women from the right of suffrage denies. It is absurd to argue that the federal amendment seeks control of the franchise and would deprive a state of its fundamental right of self-government. Of course it does nothing of the sort. It simply extends the scope of the franchise by removing the sex barrier so that precisely the same regulations and requirements pertaining to the exercise of the franchise, as now demanded by the election laws of Virginia, would apply to women.

In no particular does the federal amendment intrude on the state prerogative. It merely demands the application of the requirements to men and women alike, to the end that the state may enjoy the republican form of government enunciated in the organic act of the United States. It is the anti that would deny this state right, not the equal suffrage advocate. To argue that this is the attitude of an invader, a foe to domestic self-government is grotesque. It is an attempt to right a grievous wrong to one-half the people of the state whose political entity has been too long ignored. That Virginia women are as fit to exercise the franchise as their sisters of a score or more of other states, now enjoying suffrage, is the contention of The Evening Journal, and to deny them the privilege of voting is to hold them as of inferior mentality to their enfranchised sex elsewhere. It is also to deny them the right of representation which the federal Constitution guarantees.

Far from a blow at democracy, the effect of the amendment is to broaden and purify democratic principles. What is the "duty" of the legislature? To withhold from the glorious women of the state the privileges accorded men, or to share them with their helpmates? The pitiful argument advanced that equal rights at the polls would do more than anything else to break up the unity of the home is too absurd to receive serious attention. The dual vote is an additional conjugal responsibility whose province is to bring into the home the public affairs of city, state and nation. The woman, her sphere broadened and her vision enlarged, find in these questions an interest they never held before, since she was debarred from personal participation in their settlement. Her education has been stunted to that extent, which the right of suffrage will cure. Hence she takes on new interests and is of added companionship to her husband in all that engrosses him politically. As we have before remarked, the argument of the anti is invariably an additional plea for equal suffrage. It is an inevitable sequence.—Richmond (Va.) Journal, Aug. 29, 1919.

Lessons in Democracy

THE Italian Chamber of Deputies has passed the bill enfranchising the women of Italy. The Virginia House of Delegates and the Alabama Senate please take notice.—New York Evening Mail, Sept. 15, 1919.

Serial by

MAUD YOUNGER

Begun in September Number of McCall's Magazine

Continues Through October and November

South Not Solid

WHAT is the South going to do with woman's suffrage? It appears to us just at this time that the majority of the Southern States will ratify the amendment to the consttiution. What will South Carolina do? We believe that the legislature should act favorably upon this proposition—and perhaps will do so.

Our one regret in this matter is that the legislators of this State have failed heretofore to give woman the right to vote, have failed to provide it as a State function and have left it to an act of Congress. In this defalcation of the legislature to provide the right of suffrage to woman, it would come to us now rather in the nature of a force measure if we decline to act upon it positively, if we merely "pass the buck."

There will be suffrage for woman, universal suffrage, and for the entire United States. South Carolina by her vote cannot stop it, and we might as well see and accept the inevitable, gracefully, and give suffrage a hearty sendoff. Not only does woman deserve the right to vote, if she wishes to do so, but it is expedient for the South to say so.

The Republican Party already is crowing over the action of Congress and is claiming the granting of suffrage to have come under and because of a Republican majority in Congress. This is manifestly unfair, but the Democratic States of the South will supply the only evidence that the Republicans need—if certain States persist in voting to deny woman the right to vote.

Governor Pleasant, of Louisiana, some time ago tried to organize a kind of union of Southern governors to strike against the ratification of the amendment. But his efforts have failed. Texas and Missouri, Southern States, already have ratified; by close votes Georgia and Alabama have failed to do so. Governor Catts has opposed ratification, but it seems that the Florida legislature will not be led by him and will favor it. Tennessee and Arkansas are certain to ratify and North Carolina and Virginia are considered in that column. Oklahoma is inclined to suffrage. What will South Carolina do?

It would have required all thirteen of the Southern States to have defeated ratification and as the majority of the Democratic Southern States will ratify the amendment, the wind is taken out of the Republican Party's sails.

Furthermore, South Carolina has voted to ratify the prohibition amendment, which, to our way of thinking, has no place in a federal constitution, as it is clearly a police and health measure and not a fundamental of government. South Carolina must therefore appear ridiculously inconsistent if she declines to ratify another amendment, which does deal with fundamentals, because it "invades States rights." Tush. The amendment must be ratified or the Republicans will have turned a trick on us, and just at this time of delicate poise in national affairs the State owes it to the Party at large in the country to take this wise, progressive step.—Columbia, South Carolina, Record, August 21, 1919.

To "Suffragist" Readers

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